

TLINGIT HALIBUT HOOKS:  
AN ANALYSIS OF THE  
VISUAL SYMBOLS OF  
A RITE OF PASSAGE

ALDONA JONAITIS

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OF A RITE OF PASSAGE

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## ABSTRACT

To fish for halibut, the Tlingit Indians of southeastern Alaska use wooden hooks decorated with supernaturally potent carvings. The present paper proposes that the reason these fishermen need such spiritually powerful hooks is that a halibut-fishing venture is a "territorial passage" into the sacred domain, necessitating symbols of a rite of passage. Images on hooks and iconographic motifs associated with those images symbolically

convey the phases of liminality and incorporation. These symbols not only assure a safe passage but also have specific significances in terms of halibut fishing: liminality provides the fisherman with supernatural power; incorporation imposes an order onto the sacred realm. An additional theme discussed in this paper is the relationship of halibut fishing and its associated art to shamanism and its art.

## INTRODUCTION

To catch halibut, the Tlingit Indians of southeastern Alaska use V-shaped cedar hooks which facilitate fishing by both technological and magical means (fig. 1). One arm of the hook contains an iron barb which, owing to the design of the implement, is admirably suited for catching this particular species of fish; the other arm, however, is decorated with sculptured images embodying a spirituality that makes the hook into a potent charm (Emmons, n.d.a., catalog entry E/1920; de Laguna, 1954, p. 180). Since the Tlingit do not use decorated gear to fish for salmon, their staple, the fact that they do decorate halibut hooks poses two significant questions: (a) why do the Tlingit feel it necessary to have supernatural assistance when halibut fishing and (b) what is the nature of that supernatural assistance?<sup>1</sup>

These questions have not been answered in the ethnographies on the Tlingit, or in the books and catalogs on Northwest Coast art. Although several scholars have written books which illustrate hooks (Niblack, 1888, pl. xxxi; Boas, 1927, figs. 161 and 216; Davis, 1949, pls. 19, 75, 76, 77; Inverarity, 1950, pl. 137; Gunther, 1966, p. 41; Siebert and Fore-

man, 1967, pl. 72, 73; de Laguna, 1972, pl. 114, 115; Holm, 1972, pl. 102; Collins et al., 1973, pl. 360, 361; Coe, 1977, pl. 343; Stewart, 1977, pp. 52-53; Wardwell, 1978, pl. 95; Haberland, 1979, pl. A-19) and contain references to their innate spirituality (de Laguna, 1954, p. 180; Drucker, 1963, p. 40; Gunther, 1972, p. 146; Holm, 1972, p. 84; de Laguna, 1972, p. 390; Stewart, 1977, p. 46), none is more enlightening than Hilary Stewart (1977, p. 46) who comments, "it seems likely that the designs [on the hooks] had a significance relating to power." After having studied the large collection of halibut hooks in the American Museum of Natural History as well as smaller collections from other museums across the United States, I determined that it was time to engage in an intensive analysis of Tlingit halibut hooks.

The present paper proposes that halibut fishing has a cultural significance to the Tlingit which transcends its importance as a means of acquiring a food both eaten by the Tlingit and used as an exchange medium in trade. Instead, halibut fishing relates to the view of a world composed of two complementary parts: one, the secure realm of the village and its environs; the other, the far less secure and potentially hazardous external realm beyond human settlement. To fish for halibut is to penetrate the external world and to subject oneself to its dangers. Supernatural assistance in the form of a halibut hook helps minimize this danger.

This analysis of Tlingit halibut hooks

<sup>1</sup> Other Northwest Coast tribes also believe that halibut hooks have an innate spirituality, although only the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian decorate hooks with supernatural images (Boas, 1909, pp. 472-480; Boas, 1966, pp. 159-161; Stewart, 1977, pp. 46-55). It should be noted that among all the decorated halibut hooks in museum collections, the majority are Tlingit.





FIG. 1. Halibut hook, Yakutat. Land otter head with open mouth on halibut body. AMNH 19/1158. Collector: Emmons. Photo: H. Lebovics.

draws on the writings of Émile Durkheim and Arnold van Gennep as well as on more recent anthropological elaborations on those writings. The contribution of Durkheim (1915) is fundamental in terms of the first question posed about halibut fishing, namely, why the Tlingit need supernatural assistance when engaged in this activity. One of Durkheim's major contributions to anthropology is his analysis of the distinction societies make between the two orders of normal-profane and abnormal-sacred. It is suggested here that a Tlingit leaves the former order and enters into the latter when he fishes for halibut; such a venture demands some type of supernatural assistance.

Van Gennep (1960, first published 1909) is, in several ways, even more important for this analysis than is Durkheim, because his theories offer a means of interpreting the symbolic significance of the halibut hook itself. Concerning himself with the question of the

sacred in relation to the profane, van Gennep (1960, p. 12) points out that the presence of the sacred is variable, for "sacredness as an attribute is not absolute; it is brought into play by the nature of particular situations. A man at home, in his tribe, lives in the secular realm; he moves into the realm of the sacred when he goes on a journey and finds himself a foreigner near a camp of strangers." Because halibut fishing occurs well beyond the limits of the secular village, one can consider the fisherman's trip a passage into "sacred outsiderhood." Van Gennep stresses that all ventures into the sacred can disturb "the life of society and the individual" (1960, p. 13) and must be accompanied by rites of passage to reduce their potentially harmful effects. These rites consist of three phases: separation from secular status, transition between statuses, and incorporation back into secular status. It will be argued here that since halibut fishing is a venture beyond profane so-



cial structure, the fisherman takes with him a hook which embodies visual symbols of the three phases of the rites of passage to ease his transition between those realms. In addition to ensuring the fisherman's safety, some of these symbols provide him with the supernatural power necessary to complete his task.

The liminal phase, in particular, is one of profound potency. Victor Turner (1972, p. 339) points out that while the phases of separation and incorporation are linked closely to social order, liminality, the antithesis of that order, is unsettled and extremely dangerous. The liminal phase, being "betwixt and between," is replete with ambiguities such as invisibility, darkness, bisexuality, and lack of rank or kinship affiliations (Turner, 1969, pp. 80-81). To distinguish liminal from non-liminal states, Turner (1969, pp. 92-93) proposes a list of binary opposites: transition/state; absence of status/status; sacredness/secularity; sacred instruction/technical knowledge; continuous reference to mystical power/intermittent reference to mystical power. Other writers also define liminality by reversals of aspects of profane existence: women become men in certain Gogo rituals (Rigby, 1972); Zuni clowns exhibit symbolic inequality in an egalitarian society (Hieb, 1972), time is played in reverse on sacred occasions (Leach, 1972a). In all cases, an individual experiencing a liminal phase or a symbol of that phase is supernaturally potent. We will see later how the numerous manifestations of liminality function in halibut fishing.

It is important to recognize a significant distinction between the symbols of visual art on one hand, and the symbols of myth and ritual on the other. Claude Lévi-Strauss, in his book on Northwest Coast art (1976), apparently disregards this distinction in his attempt to understand certain Kwakiutl and Salish masks by structurally analyzing the myths associated with them. Although it is indisputable that the myths associated with art forms illuminate certain elements of those forms, myth, being a verbal form of communication, is an insufficient tool to analyze art, a visual form of communication. A myth

is a narrative, conveyed over a period of time; this is unlike an art form, which one sees all at once. There is a time element in ritual structure as well; since a ritual occurs through time, the concept of the phase or period is crucial. One therefore interprets rituals in terms of progression from one phase to another; where an artwork is used during one of those phases, as is the case for example, in initiating masking rituals, it can be interpreted as an element in time of a ritual process. However, the artwork itself does not take time and process into consideration. Instead it can, as is the case in the halibut hook, synthesize the symbols of all the phases of a ritual. We shall see how the element of time is obliterated in the symbolism of halibut hooks; instead of a clear progression from separation to liminality to incorporation, symbols of those three phases are mingled together. Elements can convey not simply one "phase" but two, or all three, simultaneously. In this study of 108 halibut hooks (Appendix 1), we will see how this synthesis of phases occurs.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AMNH, American Museum of Natural History  
 ASM, Alaska State Museum, Juneau  
 DAM, Denver Art Museum  
 FM, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago  
 MAE, Museum of Ethnology, Leningrad  
 MAI, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York  
 NMC, National Museum of Man, Ottawa, Canada  
 PAM, Portland Art Museum  
 PMH, Peabody Museum, Harvard  
 PU, Princeton University Museum  
 UM, University Museum, Philadelphia  
 SI, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.  
 SJM, Sheldon Jackson Museum, Sitka  
 TBM, Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum, Seattle  
 USNM, United States National Museum, Washington, D.C.

## TLINGIT SOCIAL STRUCTURE, SHAMANISM, AND HALIBUT FISHING

Two fundamental rules structure the society beyond which a halibut fisherman ventures: hierarchical ranking and reciprocal exchange between equal opposites. What follows is a brief summary of these rules of Tlingit social structure, based on several standard ethnographies (Swanton, 1908a; Krause, 1956; McClellan, 1954; Olson, 1967; Oberg, 1973; de Laguna, 1972). Hierarchical ranking into a series of graded statuses determines one's place in the society: an individual is ranked in his house-group, a house-group is ranked in the clan, the clan is ranked within the moiety. House-groups jointly own numerous artworks such as house posts, interior house screens, and hats which, decorated with crest images of animals, visually communicate the status of the group which owns them.

Only the two moieties are unranked. Numerous elements serve to mediate between these two opposite but equal halves of the society. The potlatch is a feast of reciprocal exchange between clans with equal status from opposite moieties; marriage is always

exogamous in terms of moieties. The production and display of crest art can also be understood in terms of reciprocal exchange, for articles of high value—posts, screens, and hats—are manufactured by members of opposite but equal clans, and are validated as status symbols by the same opposites. These rules, rigidly enforced in a variety of ways, form the basis of Tlingit secular structure.

Only the shaman can frequently venture beyond the limits of that structure in order to cure the sick, control the weather, ensure success in war, combat witches, and restore individuals kidnapped by the Tlingits' supernatural archenemy, the land otter. Several characteristics of the shaman set him apart from the other members of society: his burial is different from that of the laity, his appearance is unique, and the payment for his services is unlike the payment for secular services within the group. The shaman's paraphernalia also set him apart. They are privately, not publicly owned; they are made by members of his moiety, rather than by

one from the opposite moiety; they are stored outside his house, rather than inside. In light of these oppositions to Tlingit social structure, the shaman seems to exist in a condition of liminality in respect to his group. As Turner (1969, p. 103) points out, the shaman experiences "the transformation of what is essentially a liminal or extrastructural phase into a permanent condition of sacred 'outsiderhood.'"

The shaman's liminal condition suggests analogies with what has been proposed about the halibut fisherman, who also experiences a passage into liminality. As will be shown below, the art of the Tlingit shaman is, in many ways, strikingly similar to the art of the halibut fisherman. This relationship between halibut hooks and shamanic art touches on a more general issue of Native American art analysis, namely the significance of shamanism as a motivating force behind the production of art.

Much has been written on this supposedly significant influence of shamanic ideology on American Indian art. Peter Furst (1973, 1974), for example, stresses that the ideology of shamanism—manifested experientially in trance, soul-flight, divine election, rebirth from bones—is depicted artistically by symbols such as X-ray images and motifs representing transformation. He suggests that this ideology reveals itself in cultures, such as that of the Eskimo, where shamans play important roles in the functioning of society, as well as in cultures, such as those civilizations of pre-Columbian America, in which shamans probably did not play significant roles.<sup>2</sup> Joan Vastokas (1973, 1974) interprets

<sup>2</sup> The clearest and most thoughtful objection to the shamanic interpretation of high-culture art was offered by Esther Pasztory at the Skidmore College Symposium on Shamanism, held at Skidmore College, New York, in January 1975 in a paper entitled "Shamanism and Art." Pasztory points out that visual art is nowhere essential to the shamanic experience; where it does exist, it is usually crude and unfinished. In those few societies, like the cultures of the Northwest Coast, which do have an elaborate tradition of shamanic art, this tradition is "either the result of the influence of non-shamanic arts, or of an overall cultural preoccupation with high quality

the numerous representations of poles or trees in New World art, such as the Northwest Coast crest pole, as images of the shamanic tree of life that connects the levels of a tripartite cosmos. These and other writers characterize shamanic ideology and subsequent imagery as manifestations of a type of spiritual experience dating back to the upper paleolithic. Such characterizations, concentrating as they do on the personal, mystical experience of the shaman, tend to disregard the shaman's liminality to social structure as a motivating factor in the production of his art. Art not made for a shaman, but including symbols commonly found on shamanic art, may not have been at any time associated with the shaman, but instead, associated with a ritual of transition similar to, but by no means identical with, that of a shaman.

The symbols associated with such a transition, be it performed by a shaman or by a fisherman, are determined by the social structure from which the individual ventures. Since the sacred phase of liminality is conceptualized as being antithetical to profane, secular order, it is not the shaman who determines the nature of liminality, but instead, the structure of that society to which it is in opposition. As a consequence of this distinction, one cannot assert that the symbols on a halibut hook are borrowed from a shaman. The similarity between Tlingit shamanic art and halibut hooks is the result of the incorporation, by each type of art, of symbolic representations of the phases of a rite of passage into a similar sacred state that is defined in opposition to the same social structure. Although their art is very similar, the major difference between the shaman and fisherman is the relative length of their mutual passages: the shaman exists in a permanent state of liminality, whereas the fisherman takes a temporary venture into that state.

material objects" (p. 11). Thus, the assumption that certain visual symbols in high-culture art, such as that of pre-Columbian cultures, are founded in shamanism, does not take into account the nature of truly shamanic art.



## THE HALIBUT HOOK

### USAGE

Lieutenant George T. Emmons (n.d.e.) gives the following account of a halibut fishing venture as told, in 1882, by "Shukoff," an educated half-Tlingit, half-Russian:

When a native goes out after halibut and he finds a place where there are plenty, he at once begins to bait his fish hook, "nar-hoo-oo tahah." They generally are devilfish. When he begins to lower his hook, he begins to talk to fish hooks, telling them to be watchful and to catch his game and once caught, not to let them go and then ties a float carved to represent some sea bird as shag or sea gull and he watches the buoys. And when he pulls a line with a fish on he talks to himself, or rather, to the hook, then when he gets the halibut up he talks to the halibut. "Look out, you will tear your mouth, your bones were in the fire long ago," then he strikes the halibut on the head with a heavy club, and at the same time apologizes to the halibut, saying that it is not he who strikes but his hunger.

This halibut fisherman is doing two things: manipulating and praying to a magical hook and engaging in a fishing ritualism. Ritualism occurs in all fishing in the form of recitation of certain types of prayers which communicate the fisherman's respect for his catch. For this reason, the fisherman apologizes for killing the halibut. The Tlingit believe that all animals understand human speech and motivations and will allow themselves to be caught only if treated respectfully. If the fisherman omits the ritualistic prayers appropriate to the species, the fish will be offended by that disrespect and others of that species will not allow themselves to be caught (de Laguna, 1954, p. 179).

Myths about halibut clearly communicate the significance of respectful treatment of fish. One myth, entitled "The halibut people" (Swanton, 1909, pp. 38-40) relates how a woman who insulted some "halibut slime" on which she slipped was killed by the halibut people who approached her in human form. "The halibut that divided Queen Charlotte Islands" (Swanton, 1909, pp. 180-181)

tells of a small halibut which a fisherman brought home because it might bring him good luck. When the man's wife, who thought it was too small, threw the still-living halibut away, it flopped up and down, and grew so enormous that it destroyed the town in which they lived and split up the island upon which that town was situated into several smaller islands. In both cases, the insulting of the halibut had dire consequences for humans. Since these stories are variations on a recurring theme in Tlingit mythology of the importance of respectful treatment of all animals,<sup>3</sup> they shed no light on why the Tlingit single out halibut fishing as the venture that necessitates supernatural assistance.

This question is all the more intriguing when one recognizes how technically superior the Tlingit halibut hook actually is. Several writers comment with admiration on its efficacy at capturing the large, flat, bottom-dwelling halibut. Emmons (n.d.a., catalog entry E/1920) points out that "a fish once hooked seldom if ever escapes," while Niblack (1888, p. 290) states that these "apparently clumsy" articles are "strong and serviceable" enough to catch a 50-120 pound halibut with an efficiency that surpasses that of European hooks. Gunther (1966, p. 40) suggests that the hooks are designed specifically for halibut, since they are the only fish whose mouths can reach the bait placed on the iron barb. According to Stewart (1977, p. 47), halibut do not bite at food as salmon do, but instead draw it into their mouths with a sucking motion, forcibly spewing out that which is unacceptable. When the halibut discovers that the octopus or squid bait on the barb is uningestable, it attempts to spit it out, thus forcing the barb deeply into the sides or bottom of its mouth. Once hooked, the fish is drawn up by a line, clubbed to death and either placed in the ca-

<sup>3</sup> For more myths on respectful treatment of other animals, see Swanton, 1909, p. 53; Krause, 1956, pp. 185-186; Emmons, n.d.e.

noe or towed to shore (Emmons, n.d.b., catalog entry 19/2291). Since halibut hooks are so well designed to catch those fish with ease, there must be additional cultural significance to halibut fishing that necessitates supernatural assistance.

The question of why a people with such efficient technology seem to require "magic" to guarantee success has been the subject of many anthropological writings by Bronislaw Malinowski. Stressing that primitive man uses magical techniques when factors such as danger, chance, and uncertainty can overcome his technology, Malinowski (1972, p. 67) points out that "magic, . . . far from being primitive science, is the outgrowth of clear recognition that science has its limits and that a human mind and human skill are at times impotent." There are three interdependent factors that make halibut fishing a venture during which technological expertise is inadequate to assure success: the size of the fish, the time of year during which it is caught, and the place in which it is caught. We will contrast these factors to comparative aspects of the fishing for the Tlingit staple—salmon. For purposes of this discussion, we will consider salmon fishing a "secular" event, since it does not involve the kind of "magic" associated with halibut fishing, and, as I point out below, occurs within the limits of secular space.

The first factor about the halibut that distinguishes it from the salmon is its size; the halibut is an extremely large fish. The halibut (*Hippoglossus stenolepis*), is a right-eyed flounder of the family Pleuronectidea that starts its life as a larva floating several miles from shore. Upon maturation, when its eye migrates to its right side, the halibut settles to the ocean bottom and continues to grow up to 9 feet and 470 pounds (it is the female that reaches this size, males tending to be far smaller) (Herald, 1961, p. 273; Migdaleski and Fichter, 1976, p. 291; Clemens and Wiley, 1946, p. 312). Although the average halibut of 30–35 pounds that the Tlingit catch is smaller than the maximum size this fish grows to, it is still considerably larger than the average salmon of 3 to 23 pounds which

forms the staple of the Tlingit diet (de Laguna, 1972, pp. 51–52). The difficulty inherent in catching large fish is alleviated partially by the use of the potent halibut hook.

The second factor that makes halibut fishing different from most other kinds of fishing is the time of year during which it occurs. Halibut run in Alaskan waters during the winter, but since sudden squalls make canoeing particularly perilous at that time, the Tlingit wait until early spring when the sea is somewhat calmer to fish for halibut. Other fish like salmon, eulachon, and trout become available later in the year; thus the halibut caught in March become the first fresh fish eaten after a winter diet of dried fish (Oberg, 1973, p. 65). This fact would make the halibut more "special" than other fish caught later when supplies are more abundant.<sup>4</sup>

It has been shown how halibut differ from salmon in terms of their size and the time of year during which they are caught. It is, however, the third factor of halibut fishing that seems to be the most crucial in terms of why supernatural assistance is necessary in that venture. This third factor is the location of halibut fishing—the open sea. Unlike salmon fishing which is done in rivers and streams, the Tlingit must canoe several miles out from the shore for halibut. Since Alaskan waters, even in the spring, are subject to sudden squalls and are often rough, there are inherent dangers in deep sea fishing. The Tlingit recognize these dangers, telling many tales of "narrow escapes and of supernatural help gotten by the fishermen of old" (Oberg, 1973, p. 66).

To the Tlingit, the open sea has additional

<sup>4</sup> Most Northwest Coast people perform a First Salmon Festival, during which the first salmon caught is treated like an honored guest or high ranking official during an elaborate ritual officiated by a priestlike specialist (Drucker, 1963, pp. 156–157). In her analysis of this ceremony, Erna Gunther (1928, p. 138) comments on how strange it is that only the Tlingit and Haida lack such a ritual. Perhaps the special treatment of the halibut, as the first catch of the season, is something of a substitute for the group ritual performed by more southern peoples for the salmon.

cultural significance. Unlike the salmon streams, berry patches, sealing islands, and hunting grounds which individual kinship groups own, many (although not all) halibut banks are unclaimed by families and thus are unrestricted in terms of who can fish in them (Swanton, 1908a, p. 425; Oberg, 1973, pp. 55–56). Property rights like those applicable to salmon streams are fundamental to social structure and form the economic base of Tlingit society's hierarchical organization (see Oberg, 1973). They also assure human control over the environs of the village, making those environs relatively safe. Those areas not under the jurisdiction of secular structuring principles, like the open sea, are not controlled by man and thus expose him to danger. When the halibut fisherman canoes out beyond social boundaries, abandoning the security of his orderly world, he must bring protection against the dangers of that external, non-social world in the form of the decorations on his hook.

The alien nature of the world beyond the village is not unique to the Tlingit; the Fang of Gabon, for example, who consider their village safe and "civilized" feel that the forest beyond that village is inhospitable and dangerous (Fraser, 1975, p. 73). The necessity for supernatural assistance in a venture beyond social structure has parallels in other regions. Malinowski (1948, p. 32), for example, points out that fishing in the inner lagoons of the Trobriands, being easy and safe, does not include any ritual, whereas open-sea fishing, dangerous and uncertain, has many magical rituals associated with it.

The halibut fisherman's venture beyond the limits of society can be considered a kind of "territorial passage" of the type discussed by van Gennep (1960, pp. 15–25). He asserts that there is a "magico-religious" aspect to the crossing of frontiers which is actually a "transition . . . between two worlds." To mark this area of transition, the boundaries of a village are often marked by stakes, rocks, or portals. Such demarkation is clearly evident in the Tlingit winter village, where a line of large houses facing the shore, some decorated with crest images on their facades,

some with crest poles erected in front, forms a symbolic "portal" separating the safe, inner world of social structure from the dangerous world beyond that structure. Although sometimes a halibut fishing venture starts at a winter village, it often starts at the smaller fishing village which is located nearer the sea. Although these smaller structures do not usually have the elaborate crest decoration of the houses in the winter village, the homes in the fishing village, as well as the land upon which they are constructed, are owned by kinship groups and are thus enclaves of secular order. Leaving the village—be it the winter village or fishing village—to enter the open sea is a "territorial passage" that requires visual symbolism in the form of protective decoration on the halibut hook to ease the transition.

We have put forth two premises: one, that the sacred is defined as an opposition to the profane, and, two, that salmon fishing is a secular event. If we accept those dual premises, then we can conclude that the differences between halibut and salmon fishing manifest a distinction between sacred and profane. These distinctions can be summarized as follows:

size: relatively large halibut/relatively small salmon;  
time: early spring for halibut/late spring, early summer for salmon;  
location: beyond limits of social order for halibut/within limits of social order for salmon.

It is, especially, the third distinction, spatially setting halibut fishing outside profane order, that necessitates symbols of the phases of a rite of passage for the fisherman leaving, and then returning to, his village.

#### MYTHS ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF THE HALIBUT HOOK

According to myth, the halibut hook originated in the realm beyond social structure. In one version of a halibut-hook origin myth (de Laguna, 1972, pp. 897–898), there was a time when the Tlingit did not know how to



make and use hooks. A shaman married a land otter who taught him the skill; he in turn taught his people. The land otter, a dangerous supernatural capable of rendering great harm to the Tlingit, is a being of the sacred world, whereas the shaman is an intermediary between the sacred and the profane. In this myth, man received the halibut hook from the sacred world via the mediation of a shaman. Another, more complicated myth suggests added significance to the halibut hook (de Laguna, 1972, pp. 868–869). According to this story, there was a time when only the bear knew how to make and use hooks. Raven, the culture hero, tricked the bear into disclosing this knowledge on a fishing expedition during which Raven caught large numbers of fish, while the bear caught none. The bear finally asked Raven the secret of his success; Raven answered that he used a sliver of flesh from his penis on the barb as bait. Hoping that this would improve his luck, the bear asked Raven to cut off some of his own flesh for bait; Raven emasculated the bear who then died. Like the previous myth, this one involves the acquisition of the halibut hook from the sacred domain through an intermediary.

By virtue of his possessing an article that man does not have, the bear is clearly outside society. Society ordinarily perceives that which is not subject to its rules, hierarchies and other structural principles, namely, that which is beyond society's boundaries, as polluting, dangerous, or supernaturally potent.<sup>5</sup> The bear is thus potent, as is his hook. Raven, the organizer of the cosmos and culture bringer of the Tlingit (Krause, 1956, pp. 174–183), slays the bear in a symbolic conquest of the innate power of nature by social order, transporting the hook, along with its power, from sacred to social realm. When the halibut fisherman ventures into the open sea, he takes with him an object that issued forth from the sacred world and thus embodies a measure of its own supernatural potency.

## CARVING STYLE OF THE HALIBUT HOOK

Unlike many other Tlingit articles which are exquisitely carved with attention to fine detail and elegant finish, the majority of the 108 hooks studied for this article are not sculpted with the skill and stylistic conventions of northern Northwest Coast art identified by Bill Holm (1965). Many do not include the characteristic pinched eyes, formlines, ovoids, U-forms, typical eyebrows, textural variations, and subtle relief transitions that appear on numerous other Tlingit artworks. Figure 2, for example, has a roughly carved human face, with asymmetrically placed eyes, surmounted by a triangular shape that represents a bird's head. Both Holm (1972, p. 84) and Wardwell (1978, p. 120) suggest that halibut hooks are often crude because it is their owners, rather than trained artists, who carve them. Wardwell also hypothesizes that their ability to catch fish is more important to the Tlingit than fine artistry.

It is unlikely that the Tlingit would so casually disregard aesthetics for technical efficiency—the hooks are so useful for catching fish that from a functional point of view, it is hardly necessary to decorate them at all. It is of interest at this point to compare the sculptural style of the hooks used for catching the fish and the clubs used for killing them. These clubs tend to be magnificently and carefully carved in the typical Northwest Coast style (Stewart, 1978, p. 62), which Holm and Reid (1975, p. 65) suggest manifests the fisherman's "respect" for the animal he will slay. If the fine artistry on the club signifies respect, does the crudeness of the hook signify disrespect or at the very least, simple concern for quick catching of the fish, as Wardwell implies? In view of the Tlingit perception of animals, this interpretation is highly unlikely.

The stylistic dissimilarity of clubs and hooks can be understood from a different perspective that takes the sacred/profane dichotomy into account. The style of sculpture on clubs conveys not only respect, but also

<sup>5</sup> Mary Douglas, in particular, has discussed this problem in several works (Douglas, 1966, 1970).



FIG. 2. Halibut hook, Yakutat. Man's head surmounted by bird. AMNH 19/1143. Collector: Emons. Photo: H. Lebovics.

signifies the ordered world of Tlingit society. The stylistic conventions of much of Tlingit secular art express the hierarchies and reciprocities that govern Tlingit social structure. Large figures embracing smaller ones communicate dominance and subservience, central frontal figures flanked by smaller profile figures illustrate hierarchy; elegance and swank in the execution of such motifs suggest a higher status that validates the elite's position (Jonaitis, 1977). The highly organized, carefully structured style that decorates all kinds of Tlingit artworks, including clubs, provides a visual shorthand of the structure and organization of Tlingit society. Halibut hooks, on the other hand, neither originated nor function in the secular sphere and embody a potency unattainable in that sphere. Thus, their intrinsic antithesis to social order is visually communicated by a carving style opposite to that used on secular articles.

It could, however, still be argued that these hooks are crude simply because they are carved by their owners. However, the fact that they are so carved actually poses another question: why do fishermen carve their own hooks, rather than commissioning a trained artist to make them? Since most other articles owned by Tlingits—from house posts and clan hats to boxes, bowls, and spoons—are made by skilled artists, one must reflect on why halibut hooks are not.

The manufacture of art generally follows strict rules in Tlingit society. Oberg (1973, p. 84) considers the creation of art to be a type of "ceremonial labor," in which an individual desiring an article of art must select someone of equal rank from the opposite moiety to produce it. If the individual who is commissioned is not a good artist, he hires a trained craftsman to make it. In the eyes of the Tlingit, the article, whoever actually makes it, is an object of exchange between the moieties. Since so many artworks are made in this fashion, the fact that the halibut hook is made by its owner implies yet another opposition to the principles of social structure. The manufacture of the halibut

hook, as well as its crude style, conveys a significant antithesis to communal structuring principles. Social art symbolizes, by its manufacture and style, the values and rules of the group, whereas halibut hooks reflect a kind of individualistic status outside the group.

This point can be clarified by reviewing some of Mary Douglas's theories on language and culture, partially based on the writings of linguist Basil Bernstein. Douglas (1973, pp. 49–51) points out several interrelated aspects of integrated primitive societies: speech functions to "affirm and embellish the social structure," the individual is subordinate to the group, the idea of self is an "undifferentiated element in a structured environment," and art forms exhibit "structural elaborations upon social categories." Thus speech, self-image, and art all function to reinforce the order of society as a communal entity. Tlingit secular art certainly functions in this capacity. Social structure loses its grip in an unstable, transitional phase of existence, much like that of a halibut fishing venture. In a phase such as this, the idea of self changes to an "internally differentiated agent, attempting to control unstructured environment," and the art form exhibits the "triumph of individual over structure." Within the village, the Tlingit individual is subservient to his communal rules symbolized by secular art<sup>6</sup>; outside that village he is in the "realm of transition," acting as an individual outside of structure, represented by the artistic qualities of his halibut hook. Douglas (1973, pp. 99–100) further comments that the qualities of formality and informality are examples of clear and unclear definitions of role structure: one can per-

<sup>6</sup> Olson (1967, p. 111) stresses that "Tlingit ceremonies focus mainly on the social system; on maintaining or strengthening the status of family, household, and clan. They bear little relation to the supernatural world." Crest art associated with that social system likewise does not seem to have much to do with anything spiritual.



ceive a similar contrast between the formality of Tlingit secular art in terms of its style and manufacture as opposed to the informality of the style and manufacture of halibut hooks. Thus to the following first two oppositions enumerated by Douglas, we can add two more oppositions specifically relevant to the halibut hook:

idea of self subordinate to group/idea of self as an individual;  
 art form expressing social categories/art form denying those categories;  
 art style reflecting structure/art style reflecting lack of structure;  
 art production following rules/art production disregarding rules.

These oppositions to social rules of manufacture and style, as well as the use in a locale far from profane order, and a mythological origin in the sacred domain, set the halibut hook clearly outside secular order. These antitheses provide the hook with a power that eases the fisherman's territorial passage.

We must, at this point, return for a moment to the article we used as an example of secular, ordered, refined art—the fish club. It, too, accompanies the fisherman on his dangerous voyage; it seems to be as much a part of the halibut fishing venture as the hook, since once the fish is caught, it must be actually killed with this club. The question is clear: if the club is used on a halibut fishing venture, why is it not made in the sacred style of the hook? The answer lies in an analysis of the actual procedure of halibut fishing. The fisherman sits in his canoe, which is above water. He immerses his hook into the water. Since a human being could not survive long *in* the water (whereas he could last for a fairly long time *above* it, in a canoe), it is that water which is the really dangerous element in halibut fishing. The hook itself enters into the dangerous domain; it has the power to handle this entry by virtue of its origin, style, and manufacture. The hal-

ibut is hooked under water. However, the hook does not kill the halibut; the fisherman must kill it with a club. But he does this only when the fish is safely out of the watery realm and into the air. During no phase of this process is the activity totally safe; the canoe is too far out in the water to make it so. However, the canoe is relatively more safe than the deep sea. We see this process as a kind of rite of passage of the hook itself: the hook separates from man when it is thrown into the sea; when it is at the seabottom, it is in a liminal state; when it returns to the canoe, with its catch, it is reincorporated into the human domain. That last phase of this rite signifies the final control of man over the dangerous sea, since not only has the hook returned from there safely, but it has also taken something from that domain that man can eat.

The contrast between the phases of liminality and incorporation can be expressed visually by the following contrasts between the hook and the club:

**Liminality:** The hook is in the ocean. Visual expression of liminality on the hook: structureless style, production that disregards normal social rules.

**Incorporation:** The hook returns to the fisherman, bearing a halibut which he kills with a club. Visual expression of incorporation on the club: highly structured style, production that follows normal social rules.

In this contrast, another significant aspect of the entire halibut fishing venture comes to light: when in the liminal phase, the hook embodies the power of liminality which assures success in catching halibut; when in the incorporative phase, the club embodies the order of society. In both phases, man is in some way controlling his environment: in the first, by using some of the power of the natural world; in the second, by imposing over the natural world some of his own secular order.

## IMAGES ON THE HALIBUT HOOK

The 108 halibut hooks fall into two categories, the "single-figure" type, in which a single, often full-length figure appears on the carved arm, like the raven in figure 3, and the "two-figure" type, in which two figures, or part of figures, of roughly equal size or significance, appear on the arm. Examples of two-figure hooks include figure 1, in which a halibut body has a land otter head, figure 10, in which a halibut and an anthropomorphic being are both split in half and attached along their central axis, and figure 9, in which a land otter head and diving bird head share the same torso. The main being on a single-figure hook is called here a single image, each half of a two-figure hook is called here a dual image. In addition to the 82 single images and 52 dual images from the 26 two-figure hooks, there are 53 "additional images" of humans and animals placed in various locations on both single-figure and

two-figure hooks. One example of an additional image is the small halibut in the mouth of the land otter in figure 11. Table 1 lists the distribution of the total of 187 images on the 108 hooks.

The literature that includes cursory descriptions of halibut-hook imagery offers no consensus as to the frequency of images nor to their symbolic significance. Swanton (1908a, p. 428) comments that the "best" hooks illustrate land otters and ravens because both of those animals are mythologically powerful, whereas Stewart (1977, p. 46) asserts that the most common illustrations are halibut and octopus or devilfish, the usual bait. Both Wardwell (1978, p. 120) and Gunther (1966, p. 40) suggest that the animals that appear on hooks are skillful fishers, like "waterfowl, octopus, and land otters." Table 1 clarifies the issue of halibut-hook imagery: of all halibut-hook images, 79 percent

TABLE 1  
Images on Halibut Hooks<sup>a</sup>

Images	Single Images		Dual Images		Additional Images		Total Images	
	Number	Column %	Number	Column %	Number	Column %	Number	Column %
Land otter	18	22	13	25	5	9	36	19
Man	18	22	10	19	5	9	33	17
Raven	11	13	6	11	1	2	18	10
Diving bird	7	9	4	8	2	4	13	7
Devilfish	4	5	1	2	26	49	31	17
Halibut	3	4	7	13	6	11	16	9
Sculpin	4	5	1	2	0	0	5	3
Mountain goat	3	4	4	8	0	0	7	4
"Fish"	2	2	2	4	1	2	5	3
Deer	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	1
Eagle	1	1	0	0	1	2	2	1
Beaver	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	1
Other	7	9	4	9	6	12	17	8
Total	82	100	52	100	53	100	187	100

<sup>a</sup> See Appendix 1 for sources.

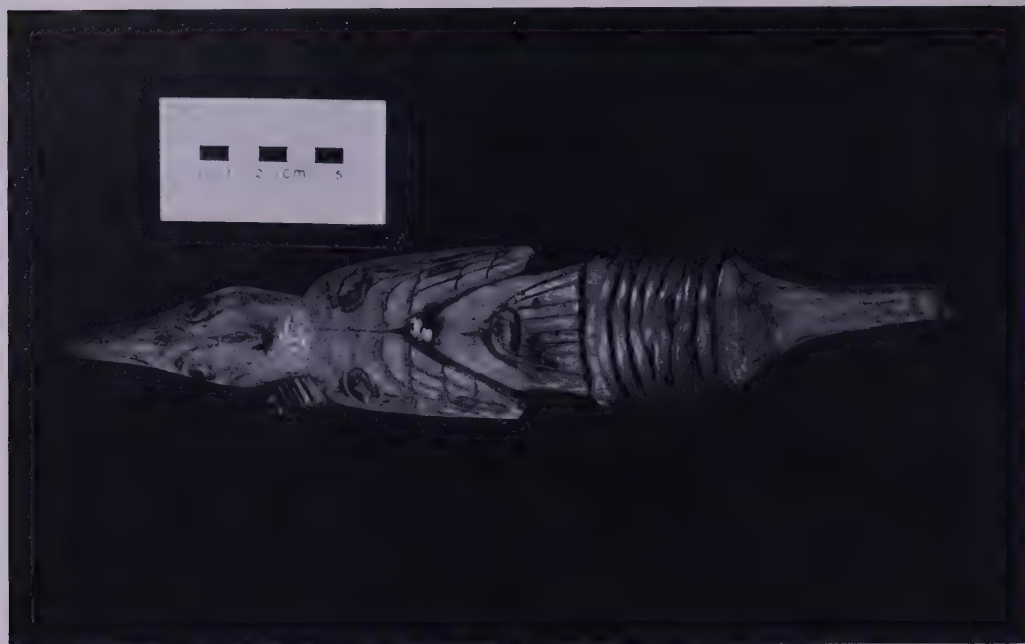


FIG. 3. Halibut hook, Angoon. Young raven. AMNH E/1244. Collector: Emmons. Photo: H. Lebovics.

are ravens (fig. 3), diving birds (fig. 4), devil-fish or octopus (fig. 5), land otters (fig. 6), halibut (fig. 8), and humans or anthropomorphic beings (fig. 13).

Just as the carving style of halibut hooks differs so radically from the carving style of secular articles, the animals illustrated on hooks are not the same as the animals illustrated on secular art. Table 2 lists the 102 animal images found on 85 objects of high status: house screens, house posts, crest hats, and helmets. These images represent crest animals which visually manifest the "fundamental principles of the Tlingit social system" (de Laguna, 1972, p. 451). It is important to recognize that the cultural significance of this particular assortment of animals is that in the Tlingit world view they symbolize structure, order, and, most importantly, the secular human world. Seven-

ty-three percent of crest animals on table 2 are killer whales, ravens, bears, wolves, eagles, and beavers. While ravens appear on both the list of significant halibut-hook animals and on the list of important crest animals,<sup>7</sup> most halibut-hook images are not crest animals, and, rather strikingly, few crest animals appear on hooks. Crest animals signify culture and structure; those animals that assist in a venture beyond that culture and structure must by necessity be different. By

<sup>7</sup> The raven image in Tlingit secular art is not limited to clans which possess it as a crest. Although hats which illustrate ravens, for example, are emblems of specific families, any Tlingit, male or female, of either moiety, can use a rattle carved in the shape of a raven (Emmons, n.d.d., catalog entry 951). Thus, the raven image is more universally displayed in Tlingit secular events than other crest emblems.





FIG. 4. Halibut hook, Hoonah. Merganser with segmented neck. AMNH E/1249. Collector: Emmons. Photo: H. Lebovics.

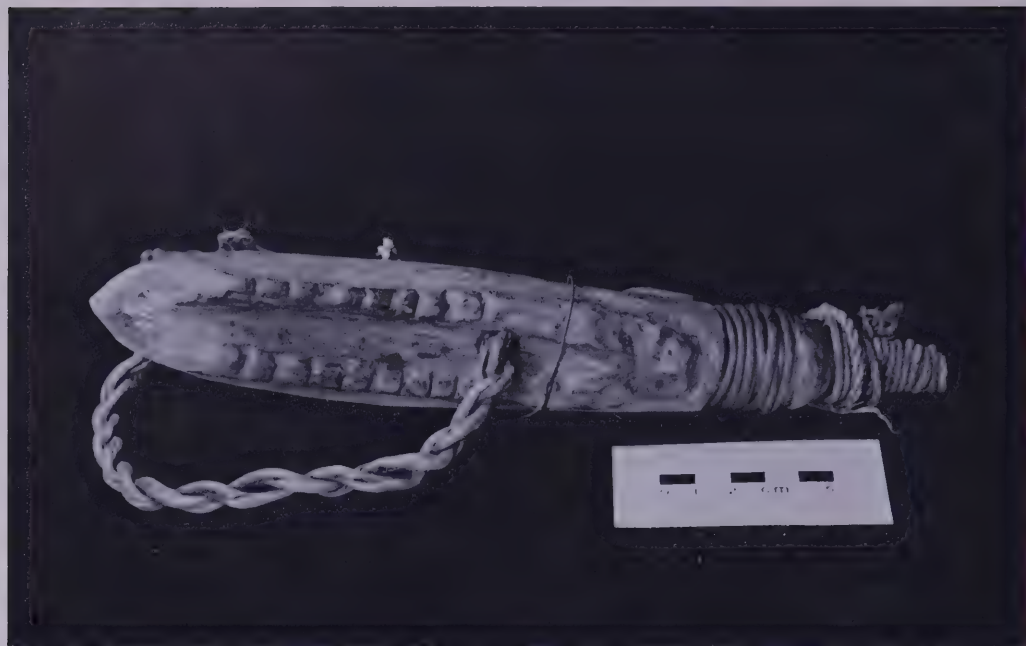


FIG. 5. Halibut hook, Sitka. Devilfish. AMNH E/2176. Collector: Emmons. Photo: H. Lebovics.

TABLE 2  
Images on House Screens, House Posts, Clan Hats  
and Helmets<sup>a</sup>

Images	Number	Column %
Killer whale	20	20
Raven	16	16
Bear	14	14
Wolf	9	9
Eagle	8	8
Beaver	7	7
Frog	6	6
Shark	6	6
Sea lion	3	3
Golden eagle	2	2
Hawk	2	2
Other	9	7
Total	102	100

<sup>a</sup> See Appendix 2 for sources.

virtue of their difference from crest animals, halibut-hook animals signify the sacred world beyond culture.

The range of halibut-hook images is, however, similar to images found on the art of the Tlingit shaman. The shaman, whose personal supernatural power facilitates his curing of the sick, assisting in warfare, controlling the weather and rescuing those kidnapped by malevolent supernaturals, possesses various paraphernalia, among which are small charms of ivory or bone (fig. 7) used in healing rituals (de Laguna, 1972, pp. 670, 689; Swanton, 1908a, p. 476). These charms have an innate potency similar to that of hooks and an imagery that is practically identical with hook images. The illustrated charm, for example, shows two land otters and a devilfish, which are common halibut-hook images.

Table 3 lists the 204 images from 99 shamans' charms compared with the total of 187

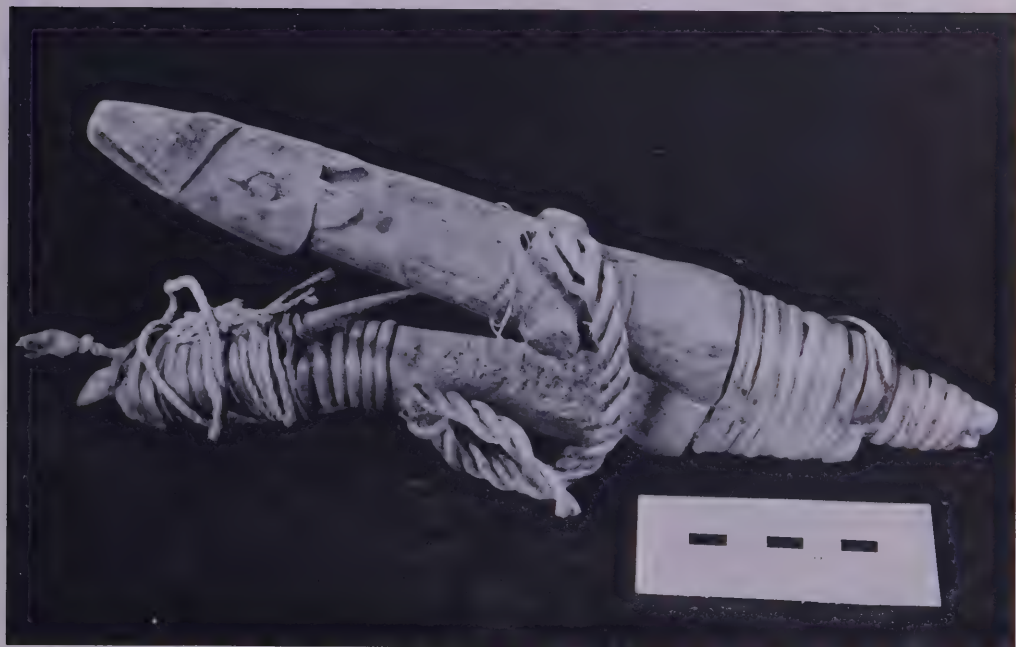


FIG. 6. Halibut hook, Sitka. Land otter with segmented body and single devilfish suckers on either side. AMNH E/1242. Collector: Emmons. Photo: H. Lebovics.

images found on the 108 halibut hooks. Notice that the land otter, man, raven, diving bird, halibut, and devilfish make up 79 percent of the images on halibut hooks, and 74 percent of the images on shamans' charms. This similarity is even more striking when one considers the dissimilar imagery of halibut hooks and secular art.

The images on a shaman's charm represent *yek*, the shaman's personal spirit assistants whom he encounters on his initiatory vision quest (Olson, 1961, p. 208). There is no clear indication in the literature that *yek* and hook spirits are related although they are often the same beings. However, one could argue that the shaman, who owns the *yek*, could also in some way control halibut-hook spirits. Were this the case, halibut-hook images could be called "shamanic," or "directly associated with the shaman." Since in certain parts of the world the shaman is a

"Master of the Animals" who beckons forth game to be hunted (LaBarre, 1970, pp. 163–166), it could be that the Tlingit shaman becomes a "Master of the Halibut" by offering his power symbols to the fisherman.

This does not seem, however, to be a valid argument. While it is true that the Tlingit shaman does on occasion of severe shortage assist in fishing (Krause, 1956, p. 194; de Laguna, 1972, p. 363), there is no evidence that he plays an active or significant role in normal halibut fishing (de Laguna, personal commun., 1979). The Tlingit shaman has numerous responsibilities, but assisting in halibut fishing is not one of them. Since this is the case, the imagery on halibut hooks must be called "shamanistic," or "similar but not directly associated with a shaman."

It is more likely that halibut hooks and shamans' charms have similar imagery because both are associated with rites of tran-





FIG. 7. Shaman's charm. Two land otters, bird face, and devilfish suckers. AMNH E/2163. Collector: Emmons. Photo: American Museum of Natural History negative number 723329.



FIG. 8. Halibut hook, Angoon. Skeletal halibut. AMNH E/1245. Collector: Emmons. Photo: H. Lebovics.

sition between secular and sacred. The Tlingit shaman exists in a state of sacred "outsiderhood" (McClellan, 1954, p. 95); the fisherman leaves his society only to catch halibut. Since both the shaman and the fisherman are at times liminal to the same social structure, it is by no means surprising that visual symbols associated with their passage into and out of that phase are similar.

The images on halibut hooks have a supernatural potency by virtue of their difference from the art of structured secular society and similarity to the art of the more liminal shaman. However, each individual image embodies a supernatural potency unique to the being represented; as we shall see, land otters, devilfish, ravens, and diving birds are all spiritually potent creatures in the Tlingit universe. In addition, each animal embodies in its actual or mythical behavior at least one phase of the rite of passage.

### HALIBUT

The halibut appears on three (4 percent) of the single-figure hooks (fig. 8), seven (13 percent) of the two-figure hooks (figs. 1, 10, 12), six (11 percent) of the additional images (fig. 11) and 16 (9 percent) of the total images. It is not surprising that this fish should be depicted on a hook used for catching it; classic rites of magic include a representation of that which is desired by the person officiating at the rite. And if this large fish is worthy of such extensive ritual preparation for its capture, it must embody some type of innate power of its own. However, this fish can also be understood in terms of the phases of the rite of passage. As was mentioned above (p. 10), the halibut lives in a very dangerous (to man) location. If the venture beneath the surface of the water is a transition into the liminal state, then the animal which comfortably lives in that state must be a liminal animal. When the fisherman carves the image of this animal onto his hook, he is controlling its power.

### LAND OTTERS

The halibut is not the only or the most common animal that is depicted on the hali-

TABLE 3  
Distribution of Images on Halibut Hooks  
Compared with Images on Shamans' Charms<sup>a</sup>

Images	Hooks		Charms	
	Num- ber	Col- umn %	Num- ber	Col- umn %
Land otter	36	19	43	21
Man	33	17	52	26
Raven	18	10	18	9
Diving bird	13	7	8	4
Halibut	16	9	4	2
Devilfish	31	17	24	12
Sculpin	5	3	1	1
Mountain goat	7	4	0	0
"Fish"	5	3	10	5
Deer	2	1	0	0
Eagle	2	1	5	2
Beaver	2	1	0	0
Bear	0	0	9	4
Killer whale	1	1	10	5
Wolf	2	1	4	2
Frog	0	0	2	1
Other	4	6	14	6
Total	187	100	204	100

<sup>a</sup> See Appendices 1 and 3 for sources.

but hook. The animal that appears most frequently on hooks is the same one that occurs most often on shamanic art: the land otter. Land otter representations make up 22 percent of single images (figs. 6, 11), 25 percent dual images (figs. 1, 9, 14), 9 percent additional images, and 19 percent total images. This is the most supernaturally potent beast in the Tlingit universe, since it is thought to actively pursue drowning men, kidnap them, bring them home to its land-otter village, and transform them into new land otters.<sup>8</sup> In nature, this animal is not particularly frightening, yet the Tlingit have a tremendous fear of it. One reason is that it is a were-animal; every land otter was once a human being. Another reason is its anomaly: it plays games and fishes for salmon in an anthro-

<sup>8</sup> The land otter is extremely important in Tlingit shamanism, being the shaman's most powerful spirit helper as well as the first *yek* acquired on his initiatory vision quest (Jonaitis, 1978).

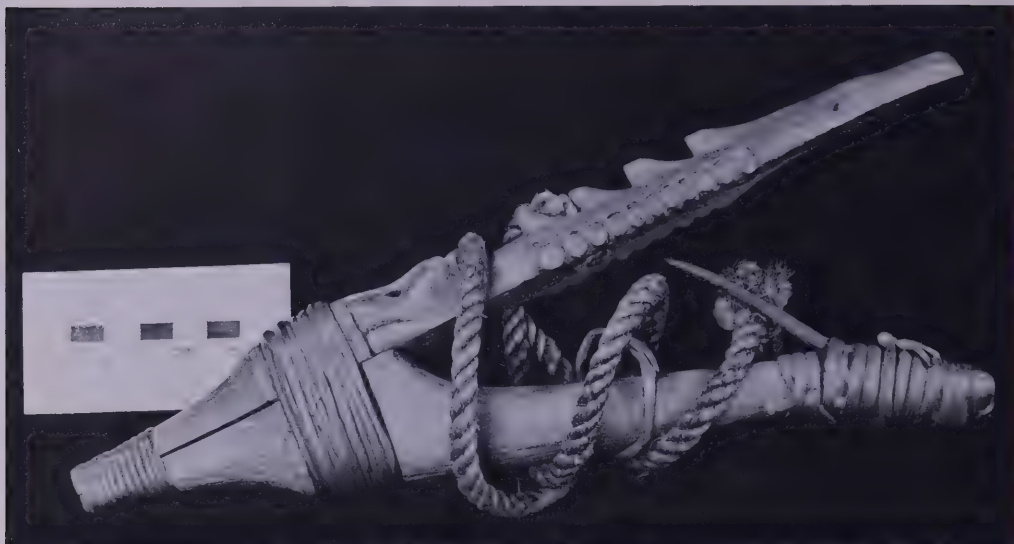


FIG. 9. Halibut hook. Land otter head at one end, diving bird head at other end, string of devilfish suckers between. Land otter devouring base of shaft. AMNH 16.1/1597. Gift of M. H. Elliot. Photo: H. Lebovics.



FIG. 10. Halibut hook. Half halibut, half man. TBM 4259. Collector: Role. Photo: author.





FIG. 11. Halibut hook, Chilkat. Land otter with segmented body eating a halibut. AMNH E/1155. Collector: Emmons. Photo: H. Lebovics.

pomorphic fashion; it swims, not with the conventional mammalian "dog paddle," but, instead, with a sinuous whipping, fishlike motion; and it has webbed feet like a duck. Unlike a "proper" mammal, the land otter has some human qualities, some fishlike qualities, and some birdlike qualities (Jonaitis, 1978).

Abnormal, anomalous, and ambiguous animals are often considered supernaturally powerful (Douglas, 1966, 1967) and embody a sense of liminality (Leach, 1972b). The land otter's abnormal drive to kidnap men, anomalous appearance, and ambiguous quality of being both human and animal all suggest the power of a liminal phase. Moreover, the land otter suggests separation since it can remove people from the social order and bring them into the sacred realm. Thus, this animal conveys the first two phases of a rite of passage.

## DEVILFISH

As we shall see, the second most common animal on halibut hooks represents liminality and incorporation. This would be the devilfish, or octopus, occurring on 17 percent of all representations. It appears infrequently (5 percent) as a single image (fig. 5), and rarely (2 percent) as a dual image. However, it constitutes 49 percent of additional images on hooks, appearing as tentacles with strings of suckers, as in figure 9, or as individual suckers as in figure 6. One could argue, as Gunther (1966, p. 40) does, that the devilfish appears on hooks because it catches fish. An even more materialist argument would be that its appearance is due to the fact that the halibut fisherman uses devilfish flesh as bait (Emmons, n.d.b., catalog entry 19/1232). Although any complete explanation of the devilfish on halibut hooks should take these

facts into consideration, it is most unlikely that they are the only reasons, for it is clear that the devilfish, like the land otter, is for the Tlingit a profoundly supernatural animal; it is both a mythic monster as well as "one of the doctor's most powerful allies" (Emmons, n.d.c., catalog entry 78791). Thus, one must investigate the reasons why the devilfish is considered to be so spiritual.

There are numerous Northwest Coast myths about devilfish. The Tlingit have stories of monster devilfish (de Laguna, 1972, p. 861) and of devilfish invasions of villages (Swanton, 1909, p. 132). The Haida tell of a lethal devilfish that was extremely difficult to kill (Swanton, 1905, pp. 392–393) and of a "monster devilfish" that destroyed an entire town (Swanton, 1905, pp. 259–260). Among the Tsimshian, there is one story about a "giant devilfish" which killed many people and which was the archenemy of the Raven (Boas, 1916, pp. 135–136), and another story of a devilfish which was the only monster to remain alive after all the other monsters of the world had been turned to stone by the Raven (Boas, 1916, p. 100). These myths reveal that the Northwest Coast peoples impute an extraordinarily sinister nature to the octopus which renders it both dangerous and powerful. Such a beast, when properly controlled, would be a useful supernatural ally for the fisherman.

The question that still remains is why do the Tlingit and other Northwest Coast peoples regard the octopus in this manner? Although their suckers can tear a man's skin and their venom inflict a painful bite, octopuses are, in reality, not dangerous animals (Lane, 1960, pp. 21–23; 180–188). However, they look dangerous, because the Northwest Coast octopus, *Octopus apollyon*, is a formidable creature which measures up to 20 feet in diameter. Jacques Cousteau (1973, p. 42) comments that "one must remember that an octopus [of this size] is at least as impressive as a gorilla encountered on a jungle trail." In addition to its great size, the octopus is a profoundly anomalous creature.

One manifestation of octopus anomaly is its anthropomorphic qualities. It has large

eyes which, to one researcher (Wells, 1978, p. 143), appear to "stare back" at an observer in "an alert and interested manner." Like man, it uses its arms to defend itself, collect food, examine its surroundings, and, interestingly, to build a sort of home. Instead of simply residing on the ocean floor, the octopus lives in crannies in rocks which it surrounds with stones and pebbles (Lane, 1960, pp. 74–75; Wells, 1978, p. 218).

The octopus can also do many things that other sea creatures cannot. For example, it can flatten its body to an almost unbelievable thinness, rendering it capable of squeezing through openings several times smaller than its normal body diameter. It can change color and skin texture for camouflage or expression of mood. It can even survive out of water for periods of time; people have observed octopus walking on rocks and shore, scavenging for food (Lane, 1960, pp. 76, 93–99; de Laguna, 1972, p. 832). With its eight legs and a mouth that looks like a bird's beak, the octopus resembles no other animal of the sea.

The devilfish is therefore potent for several reasons. It is enormous and highly anomalous. By being capable of changing its color, this crustacean incorporates the power of transformation, while by being able to exit the water and enter onto land, it can straddle cosmic levels. The inherent power of the devilfish, like the similar power of the land otter, makes it a useful spirit helper for the halibut fisherman (Jonaitis, 1980).

Also like the land otter, the devilfish symbolizes liminality. Its anomalous qualities are not the only indications of liminality, for, as Turner (1969, pp. 92–93) stresses, characteristics of this phase often take the form of binary oppositions to social structure. Two such oppositions specifically relevant to the devilfish are transition/state and totality/partiality. The transformational abilities of this crustacean, manifested both by its ability to change color, texture and size and to exist both as a sea creature as well as a land animal, clearly convey the notion of transition. Its ability to live in more than one cosmic locale and to appear in more than one fash-



FIG. 12. Halibut hook, Wrangell. Raven head with halibut body. AMNH E/1252. Collector: Emmons. Photo: H. Lebovics.

ion, conveys a sense of "totality" in that it embraces, in several ways, more than one state. Thus, the liminality of the devilfish is suggested by its anomaly, its power of transition, and its sense of totality.

In addition to liminality, the devilfish also symbolizes incorporation. Since humans build houses to define their secular sphere, the house can be regarded as a symbol of secular order. The devilfish, by building its own "house," becomes a symbolic creator of similar societal structure and thus becomes a symbol of return to that order. Furthermore, the devilfish has eight arms. Among the Tlingit the number eight signifies completion, for the body has eight parts, a potlatch must be performed eight times to validate or affirm status, and a shaman goes

on a vision quest for eight days (de Laguna, 1954, pp. 175–176). When the halibut fisherman manipulates a hook that contains reference to the socially significant number eight, he is working with a symbol of reincorporation into his society.

## BIRDS

Most birds that appear on halibut hooks are either ravens or diving birds. Ravens, which make up 13 percent of single images (fig. 3), 11 percent of dual images (fig. 12), 2 percent of additional images, and 10 percent of total images, are, in nature, large, noisy, sociable, and very intelligent (Rand, 1968, p. 181). The Tlingit believe ravens to have certain human qualities: they can converse with



people, bring them news, prognosticate the future, and provide hunters with luck (de Laguna, 1972, p. 829). The raven's human qualities are anomalous and thus suggest liminality. However, these same qualities, coupled with the bird's sociability and tendency to live close to humans, suggest certain aspects of incorporation. The raven image, as both a crest and moiety symbol, is clearly related to social structure. In Tlingit myth, it was a raven that organized the world, giving man a measure of control over his environment. It would appear, therefore, that the raven image on halibut hooks, while conveying a sense of liminality, is primarily a symbol of social structure and consequently, of the incorporative phase of the rite of passage.

The other birds represented on hooks have long necks or thin beaks that identify them as divers such as mergansers and cormorants. These appear on 9 percent of the single images (fig. 4), 8 percent of the dual images (fig. 9), 4 percent of the additional images, and 7 percent of the total images. Like land otters, devilfish, and ravens, diving birds exhibit anomalous behavior. Unlike most other birds, divers not only fly, but also swim on the surface of water and totally submerge underneath the surface. Their ability to swim suggests, as Furst (1978, p. 157) has pointed out, a power to break through the boundaries between air and sea. This transitional ability, similar to that of the devilfish, is a clear indication of liminality.

Although one could argue that the Tlingit represent divers on their halibut hooks because these birds catch fish, there are other birds in the area that catch fish that do not appear on hooks. Between April 1894 and July 1896, Lt. G. T. Emmons kept a notebook (Emmons, n.d.e.), in which he recorded his sightings of wildlife in the area. Many birds he saw, such as grouse, ptarmigan, plover, robbin, and red wing flicker, are forest or shore birds which would not in any case appear on hooks. Water birds such as snow goose, mallard, teal, widgeon, pintail, and gull, which do not actually catch fish, are also not represented. Two species of

birds in the area however, do catch fish but are not shown on halibut hooks in any significant number: bald eagles and ospreys. The eagle watches the water from a perch or flies overhead until fish are close enough to the surface to be caught, while the osprey quickly dives into and out of the water (Rand, 1968, pp. 70-72). Neither bird floats on the surface of the water and is thus limited to the air, treetops, and an occasional quick venture into the water. Mergansers and cormorants, on the other hand, not only fly in the air and float on the surface of the water but also submerge completely, sometimes for long periods and to great depths (Rand, 1968, pp. 27-30, 60). Since in addition to eagles and ospreys, other animals such as bears, wolves, and killer whales catch fish but do not appear with any frequency on hooks, it would appear that the selection of diving birds is as much based on their transitional capability to transcend cosmic levels as on their ability to fish.

#### ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURES

I have left the discussion of anthropomorphic images to the end because, in most cases, their identity is questionable. Twenty-two percent of single images (fig. 13), 19 percent of dual images (figs. 10, 14), 9 percent of additional images, and 17 percent of total images represent a human being. Since one such anthropomorphic image is identified by Emmons (n.d.d., catalog entry 1916) as a "shaman singing," one possibility is that other anthropomorphic illustrations on hooks represent shamans and embody their particular kind of power. Another possibility is that these are representations of the mythological shaman who acquired the first halibut hook from the land-otter people (see above, p. 11). It is equally possible, however, that most human images do not represent shamans at all; indeed, many have no more specific identification than that of "spirit." The nature of that spirit is uncertain as well, because the Tlingit often represent both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic supernaturals with anthropomorphic

imagery since they believe all living creatures have human-like souls (de Laguna, 1972, p. 823). The anthropomorphic images on halibut hooks, therefore, could be several different beings: shamans, anthropomorphic spirits, or zoomorphic spirits in anthropomorphic form.

### DUAL IMAGES

The idea that the soul of a supernatural being can take on a variety of forms explains the 26 dual-image halibut hooks which constitute 24 percent of the total number of hooks studied. These hooks illustrate the two forms that a being can take simultaneously in three different ways. The most common type is the diverging-head form in which two beings share the same body, as in the land otter and diving bird in figure 9. The next common type is the split-body form in which each body is split vertically and the two halves are attached along the central axis, as in the split halibut and anthropomorphic being in figure 10. The third type shows the head of one being attached to the body of another being. Figure 1, for example, shows a land otter's head on a halibut's body, figure 14, a land otter's head on a human body, and figure 12 shows a raven's head on a halibut's body. All these dual-image hooks illustrate the two forms that a being might take. Such an illustration is commonly referred to as "transformational," since it appears to depict the process of a being revealing another of its forms.

Transformation and transition have been discussed in regard to several beings found on halibut hooks: land otters, devilfish, div-

ing birds, dual images and, possibly, anthropomorphic figures. Transformation implies change of physical state, such as that experienced by the devilfish, whereas transition implies change of cosmic locale, such as that experienced by the diving bird. Both transformation and transition communicate totality; all define the liminal phase.

### SYMBOLIC SIGNIFICANCE

Of the three phases of the rite of passage, it is liminality that is most frequently communicated by images on halibut hooks. We can summarize the symbolic significance of the images discussed here in the following manner:

- separation: land otters
- liminality: halibut
  - land otters
  - devilfish
  - ravens
  - diving birds
  - dual images (possibly also anthropomorphic figures)
- incorporation: devilfish
- ravens

If we were dealing only with images on hooks, we could assume that the Tlingit halibut fisherman is chiefly concerned with the liminal aspect of his voyage to the open sea and the sacred power inherent in liminality. However, halibut hooks are not limited to illustrations of single or paired beings but also include iconographic motifs which symbolically convey the concepts of separation and, especially, incorporation.

## ICONOGRAPHIC MOTIFS ON THE HALIBUT HOOK

Eighty-three of the 108 halibut hooks (77%) include iconographic motifs. Some hooks have more than one motif, making a total of 131 motifs. Table 4 lists these motifs and their frequency of occurrence.

### FACES OR FIGURES

One motif seems to be a variation of the dual-image type of hook. On 12 hooks (9 percent total hooks; 9 percent iconographic mo-

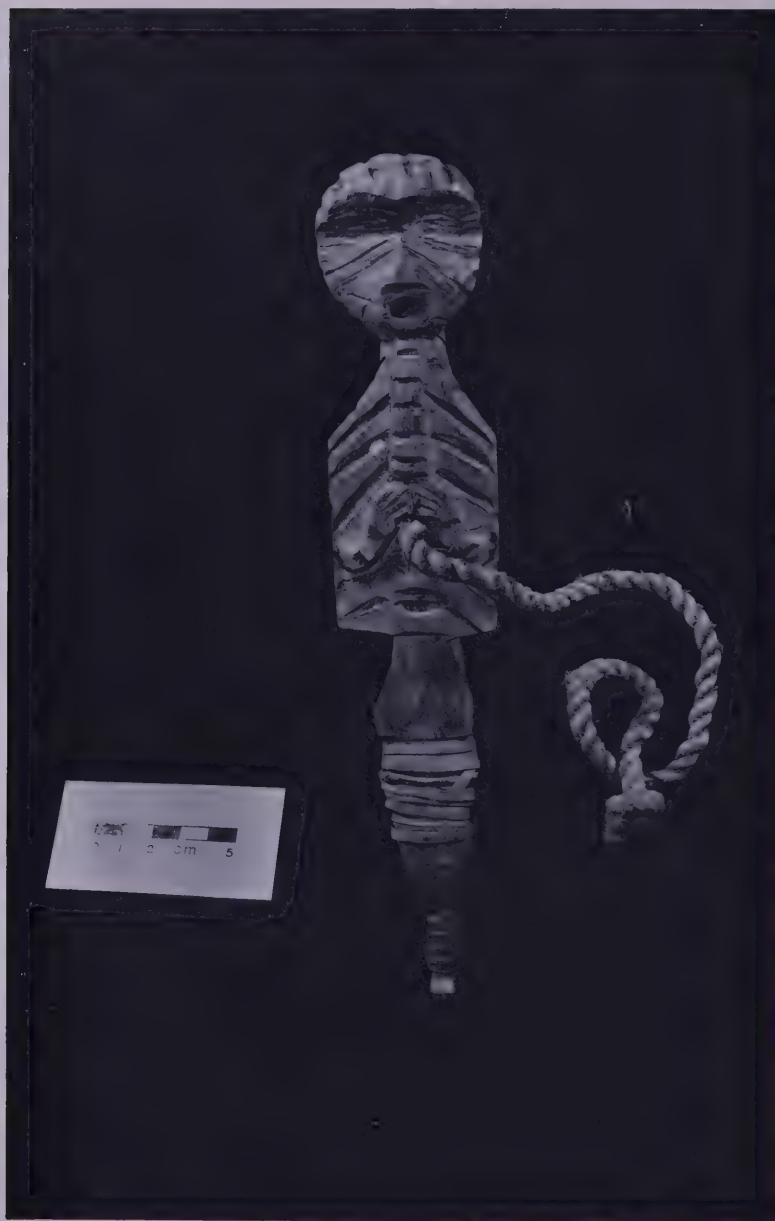


FIG. 13. Halibut hook. Skeletal man with open mouth. AMNH 16/9716. Collector: Harriman. Photo: H. Lebovics.

tifs), there appear small faces or bodies on the body or head of the main image, as, for

example, the small bird on the forehead of the human in figure 15. Like the dual images,





FIG. 14. Halibut hook, Sitka. Land otter face with skeletal human body. AMNH 19/730. Collector: Emmons. Photo: H. Lebovics.

these small faces or figures can be interpreted as representations of the soul of the main

being, and thus, as illustrations of transformation.

TABLE 4  
Distribution of Iconographic Motifs on Halibut  
Hooks<sup>a</sup>

Motif	Number	Column %
Devilfish sucker	31	24
Skeleton	27	21
Devouring	22	17
Open mouth	20	15
Segmentation	17	13
Face or body	12	9
Other	2	1
Total	131	100

<sup>a</sup> See Appendix 2 for sources.

### DEVILFISH SUCKERS

The most common iconographic motif on halibut hooks is the devilfish sucker (31 hooks; 29 percent total hooks; 24 percent iconographic motifs). Appearing only rarely as the main image, the devilfish occurs with great frequency in the form of suckers as a subsidiary motif on men, land otters, birds, ravens, and mountain goats. If, as we suggested above, the devilfish is a symbol of incorporation, its representation on hooks, in association with beings which convey liminality, provides the hooks with a symbol of return to secular state. Of the 36 hooks with land-otter images, for example, 12 (33 percent) include devilfish suckers which guarantee a reentry into structure from the separation and liminality inherent in the land otter.

However, another symbolic significance of the devilfish sucker becomes evident on observation of that body-part. An individual sucker looks somewhat like a vertebra. Indeed, on some shaman's charms, such as the one illustrated in figure 16, the backbone is rendered by a string of devilfish suckers. It could be that the Tlingit artist noticed the visual similarity between the somewhat hourglass-like shapes of both suckers and individual vertebrae and chose to use the already spiritually powerful symbol of the devilfish sucker as a visual pun for a bone.

### SKELETONS

Skeletons as such occur on hooks, most commonly in association with halibut. Of the 27 skeletal motifs, 8, or 30 percent, appear on that fish (fig. 8). Skeletons also appear on anthropomorphic images (fig. 13), dual images (fig. 14), and on most of the animals found on hooks. Of all hooks 25 percent illustrate skeletons; 21 percent of iconographic motifs are skeletal. Like many other peoples, the Tlingit associate bones with hunting magic. They cremate the bones of fish they have eaten in order to liberate the animal's spirit and consequently ensure its reincarnation (de Laguna, 1972, p. 824). The skeleton embodies the soul of the animal and, when represented in art, connotes power and control over that soul.

The skeletal imagery often appears on shamanic art and has been interpreted as a visual symbol of specifically shamanic powers. Several scholars,<sup>9</sup> have suggested two explanations for these representations of bones. One explanation is that the skeleton in art refers to hunting magic whereby the shaman assures rebirth of game, whereas the other explanation proposes that it symbolizes the shaman's initiation, a ritual dismemberment during which his bones are exposed to spiritual forces. This initiation is a typical death-and-rebirth ritual; the skeletal image is said to symbolize that ritual.

Since, as I have pointed out throughout this paper, the halibut hook is not directly associated with Tlingit shamanism, it would be incorrect to interpret the skeletal image on hooks as a reference to shamanism. Perhaps it would be more fruitful to analyze this motif from a broader perspective that takes the general concept of death and rebirth into account.

In all the events in which bones play a role—Tlingit fishing magic, shamanic hunting magic, and shamanic initiations—the mo-

<sup>9</sup> Skeletal symbolism in sacred or, specifically, shamanic art, has been studied by numerous scholars, some of whom are Eliade (1964), LaBarre (1970), Furst (1973, 1974), and Mathews (1978).



FIG. 15. Halibut hook, Yakutat. Man with open mouth and bird head on forehead. AMNH 19/1145. Collector: Emmons. Photo: H. Lebovics.

tivation of those events is to ensure reincarnation—of the fish, of the game, of the more spiritually potent shaman. As van Gennep (1960, pp. 146–165) points out, the ritual

scenario of death and rebirth is a prototypical rite of passage. Death is a ritual of separation; rebirth, of incorporation. Taking this interpretation into account, we can suggest





FIG. 16. Shaman's charm. Land otter with devilfish suckers for backbone. PAM 48.3.110. Collector: Rasmussen. Photo: author.

a more fundamental meaning of the skeleton, and its analogue, devilfish suckers, on halibut hooks: separation in terms of death, but more profoundly, reincorporation in terms to rebirth.

#### DEVOURING AND OPEN MOUTHS

Another frequent motif on halibut hooks is the devouring image (22 hooks; 20 percent total hooks; 17 percent iconographic motifs). One animal can ingest another, as is the case in figure 11, which shows a land otter eating a halibut, or, the animal can ingest the base of the hook itself, as in figure 9. Since for the Tlingit, spiritual essence enters and exits the body via the mouth (Emmons, n.d.a., catalog entry E/349; n.d.c., catalog entry 78147), the visual representation of one animal eating another or of one animal eating the embodiment of power—the halibut hook conveys the transfer of power from the ingestee to the ingestor. In addition, when one being

devours another, the latter becomes part of the former in a process that can be considered transformational; this is perhaps the reason for the high percentage of land otters (11 of 22; 50%) that occur in association with this motif. A third possible explanation for this motif is, at base, materialistic: the end result of a successful fishing venture is the acquisition of fish to eat. Seen from this perspective, the devouring motif would connote success.

A motif that can be interpreted as a variation of devouring is the open mouth (20 hooks; 19 percent total hooks; 15 percent iconographic motifs). Figure 1 illustrates a land otter with a partially open mouth; figures 13 and 15 illustrate men with wider mouths. These open mouths seem to be prepared to ingest something, be it material, like a fish, or non-material, like a soul. We can consider this motif as an abbreviated rendition of devouring, connoting transfer of power, metamorphosis, and success.

The devouring motif and its analogue, the open mouth, have additional significance in terms of the phases of the rites of passage. Van Gennep (1960, p. 29) points out that eating is "clearly a rite of incorporation, of physical union, and has been called a sacrament of communion." For the Tlingit, eating is not just this kind of incorporative act; it is one of the bases of social order. At the potlatch, during which kin groups from each moiety feast together, food serves to integrate the halves that constitute Tlingit society. During the potlatch described by Swanton (1908a, pp. 438–443), the distribution and eating of food seems almost as significant a part of the ritual as the distribution of goods. We can thus interpret the devouring/open mouth motif as incorporative, since it symbolizes that act of eating which for both van Gennep and the Tlingit signifies social union.

We can expand this analogy even further, and include the act of sexual union as another concept symbolized by the devouring/open mouth motif. Claude Lévi-Strauss (1966, pp. 105–106) has shown us that many people throughout the world make "profound analogies between copulation and eating" (see also Leach, 1970, p. 111). Sexual intercourse, a profoundly integrative and incorporative act, can be metaphorically illustrated by the devouring image. If the motif we are discussing here is symbolically related to sexual union, then its incorporative aspects in terms of Tlingit culture are even stronger than we earlier suspected. Just as food is distributed at potlatches to unify the moieties, women are exchanged between those two moieties in marriage ceremonies; the eating of food at the potlatch symbolizes the social integration of that feast of ritual exchange, while the sexual union that follows an exogamous marriage symbolizes the social integration of a marriage alliance. The devouring/open mouth image on halibut hooks thus refers to incorporation by symbolizing both eating and sexual union.

### SEGMENTATIONS

A motif that is not so readily understood is the segmented image (17 hooks; 16 percent

total hooks; 13 percent iconographic images) which is not explained anywhere in the collection notes. On those hooks with this motif, the neck or body of the animal represented, or the shaft of the hook itself, is incised into distinctly separated segmented parts. Examples of this feature appear in figure 4, where a diving bird has a segmented neck, and in figure 11, on a land otter whose body is segmented. The segmentations on this land otter's body resemble vertebrae; perhaps the segmented image is, like the devilfish sucker, a visual pun for a skeleton. Or perhaps, its interpretation is more closely related to secular order, for similar segmentations appear on the tops of crest hats in the form of basketry rings which enumerate the number of potlatches given by the hat's wearer (de Laguna, 1973, p. 200). If this latter interpretation is correct, the segmented image is yet another symbol of reincorporation into the social domain.<sup>10</sup>

### SYMBOLIC SIGNIFICANCE

We can summarize the symbolic significance of iconographic motifs on halibut hooks in the following manner:

separation: skeleton  
 devilfish suckers  
 segmentation  
 liminality: beings and heads on bodies  
 devouring  
 incorporation: devilfish suckers  
 skeleton  
 devouring  
 open mouth  
 segmentation

<sup>10</sup> George MacDonald (MS, p. 8) points out that segmentation occurs in a context of status on certain carved poles, on various shaman figures from the Fraser River, and on chiefs' woven hats. While he interprets these representations as backbones, much as I have, he explains their significance somewhat differently: "In essence the human backbone is the vertical axis of the world, a concept which serves to align the image of the world as a living being, in particular as the ancestors, with the axial geometry of shamanic cosmology." MacDonald is here relating an artistic motif to shamanism; as pointed out in this paper, such an approach to secular art should be taken with caution.

In terms of numbers, there are far more hooks with iconographic motifs that symbolize incorporation than with those that symbolize either separation or liminality. Thus,

whereas liminality is more prevalent a concept conveyed by the images themselves, incorporation is more prevalent in the iconographic motifs associated with those images.

## CONCLUSION

Let us look again at two of the illustrated halibut hooks, which can now be more fully understood in terms of their symbolic significance. The hook in figure 9 is a dual-image type with a land otter at one end, a diving bird at the other, and a string of devilfish suckers between. Separation is conveyed by the land otter and the devilfish suckers, liminality by the land otter, the devilfish, the diving bird, and the dual image itself, and incorporation by the devilfish and diving bird. In figure 11, where a segmented land otter devours a halibut, separation is conveyed by the land otter and the segmentations, liminality by the land otter and the devouring image, and incorporation by the segmentations and the devouring image. It is important to recognize that an individual motif or image—such as the devouring motif or the land otter image—can symbolize more than one phase of the rite of passage. And because it is an art object, the halibut hook itself can simultaneously symbolize all three of the phases of a rite of passage into and out of a spiritual domain (see above). These symbols, in addition to alleviating the inherent dangers of such a transition, also have specific functions in terms of halibut fishing.

Much current anthropological literature focuses on the liminal phase as a period of intense spiritual potency. Since a halibut-fishing venture is an expedition into the dangerous sacred domain, the fisherman must take along a power symbol in order to cope with those dangers. Images of liminality provide that power. Incorporative motifs, too, have a specific function in halibut fishing. Not only do they ensure a "safe return" from the liminal phase, they also provide structure to an unstructured environment. The sacred, being the antithesis of the pro-

fane, is not subject to the rules and organizing principles that govern society. The incorporative symbols on hooks refer, in several ways, to those secular rules and principles. The hook is therefore an object that symbolically imposes profane order onto the sacred realm, providing, as a consequence the fisherman with both sacred power as well as secular structure; by manipulating his halibut hook, the Tlingit individual attempts to control his environment.

At this point the shamanistic qualities of the halibut hook can be fully understood. Both the shaman and halibut fisherman venture beyond social structure, the shaman to help his society cope with disasters of death, disease, and witchcraft, the fisherman to cope with the dangers associated with halibut fishing. The large scale, culturally significant mediation between sacred and secular performed by the Tlingit shaman occurs on a smaller scale and has more personal significance when the halibut fisherman manipulates his hook. This is not unlike the differences between the experience of a Huichol shaman and laity on a peyote hunt. As Barbara Myerhoff (1974, p. 44) points out, the shaman experiences a deeply religious and significant vision, whereas the layperson experiences a spiritual vision that is private and, although "spiritual, less sacred than that of the *mara 'akame* [shaman]." The shaman and laity among the Tlingit and the Huichol, have experiences that can be distinguished only in terms of their intensity and cultural significance. The art of the laity on a territorial passage does not necessarily have to be a copy of the art of the shaman; the arts of both incorporate symbols of these individuals' rites of passage.

This study raises many more questions on



the relationships between art, subsistence activities, and the concepts of the supernatural on the Northwest Coast. Some of these questions are: Why do the southern tribes *not* decorate their halibut hooks, even though those implements are considered sacred? What parallels exist between fishing and its decorated gear and trapping and its

decorated gear? How is the art of the shaman an expression of his rites of passage? I hope that this paper inspires further research to search for answers to questions such as these, in order to deepen our understanding of the excellent art of the Northwest Coast Native American.

# APPENDIX 1: TLINGIT HALIBUT HOOKS

Location, references	Main image	Additional images	Iconographic motifs
SINGLE-FIGURE HOOKS			
AMNH			
16.1/1698	Man	Halibut	Skeleton, body
16.1/2229	Man		Open mouth
16/9726	Raven	Devilfish	Devilfish sucker, segmented body
16/9712	Land otter		
16/9720	Land otter	Devilfish	Devouring, skeleton, segmented body, devilfish suckers
16/9716. Ill., fig. 13	Man		Open mouth, skeleton
16/9728	Raven		
16/9721	Diving bird		
16.1/1936. Wardwell, 1978, pl. 95	Man	Land otter	Body
16/9727	Fish	Devilfish	Devilfish suckers, devouring
16/9719	Raven		
16/9714	Diving bird		Open mouth, segmented body
16/9713	Land otter	Devilfish	Devilfish suckers, skeleton
16/9722	Land otter		Skeleton
E/1248	Land otter		Segmented body, devouring
E/1242. Ill., fig. 6	Land otter	Devilfish	Segmented body, devilfish suckers
E/1240	Human leg		
E/1244. Ill., fig. 3	Raven		
E/1243	Diving bird		
E/1155. Ill., fig. 11	Land otter	Halibut	Devouring, segmented body

APPENDIX 1: (*Continued*)

Location, references	Main image	Additional images	Iconographic motifs
E/1249. Ill., fig. 4	Merganser		Segmented neck
E/2176. Ill., fig. 5	Devilfish		Devilfish suckers
E/2292	Deer's hoof		
E/1920	Raven	Devilfish	Devilfish suckers, segmented body
E/1213	Eagle		Segmented body
E/1245. Ill., fig. 8	Halibut		Skeleton
E/2293	Sculpin	Halibut	Devouring, face
E/1250	Land otter		
E/1253	Land otter		
E/1251. Boas, 1927, fig. 161	Sculpin	Halibut	Devouring, skeleton
E/1247	Cormorant		
E/1151	Land otter		Devouring
E/1150	Deer's hoof		
E/1125	Land otter		Open mouth
19/1152. Boas, 1927, fig. 216	Beaver		Skeleton, devouring
19/1149	Killer whale		Skeleton
19/1148. de Laguna, 1972, pl. 114	Man		Open mouth, skeleton
19/1145. de Laguna, 1972, pl. 115. Ill., fig. 15	Man	Bird	Face, open mouth
19/1157. de Laguna, 1972, pl. 115	Man	Eagle	
19/1147. de Laguna, 1972, pl. 115	Crow		Skeleton
19/1159	Hummingbird		
19/1146	Devilfish		Devilfish suckers
19/1150	Duck	Devilfish	Devilfish suckers
19/1142	Devilfish		Devilfish suckers
19/1143. Ill., fig. 2	Man	Bird	Face
MAI			
1/844	Raven	Devilfish	Segmented body, devilfish suckers
1/845	Animal		Segmented body, devouring
1103	Land otter	Devilfish	Devilfish suckers
1104	Man	Animal	Face
19/1632	Raven	Land otter	Open mouth

APPENDIX 1: (*Continued*)

Location, references	Main image	Additional images	Iconographic motifs
9/8009	Man		Open mouth, segmented body
21/1602	Man		
FM			
79743	Halibut	Canoe, man	Body, skeleton
78760	Raven	Diving bird, devilfish	Segmented neck, skeleton, body, devouring, devilfish suckers
79001	Devilfish		Devilfish suckers
PHM			
95-20-10/48387. Collins et al., 1973, pl. 361	Man (witch)	Animal, land otter	Devouring
ASM			
II B-772	Raven	Land otter	Devouring
II B-787	Sculpin	Fish	Skeleton, devouring
II B-788	Mountain goat	Devilfish	Devilfish suckers
II B-1158	Mountain goat	Devilfish	Devilfish suckers
MAE			
2539-3. Siebert and Foreman, 1967, pl. 73; Collins et al., 1973, pl. 360	Land otter	Man, canoe, devilfish, halibut	Long tongue, open mouth, devilfish suckers
TBM			
657. de Laguna, 1972, pl. 114	Land otter		Devouring
1996. de Laguna, 1972, pl. 114	Man (shaman)		Open mouth
1365	Beaver		Devouring, skeleton
1995	Land otter	Man	Open mouth, body
1/24	Man		Open mouth
1/1851	Mountain goat	Diving bird, devilfish	Open mouth, devilfish suckers, face
USNM			
74351. Niblack, 1888, pl. xxxi, no. 156	Man	Halibut	Devouring, skeleton, body
42976. Niblack, 1888, pl. xxxi, no. 155	Diving bird		Skeleton
PRIVATE COLL.			
Coe, 1977, pl. 343	Sculpin	Raven	Skeleton



APPENDIX 1: (*Continued*)

Location, references	Main image	Additional images	Iconographic motifs
HAMBURG MUSEUM FÜR VOLKERKUNDE			
78.42.37. Haberland, 1979, pl. A-19	Land otter		
PAM			
48.3.291. Gunther, 1966, no. 159	Raven		Face
48.3.292. Gunther, 1966, no. 160	Fish	Man	Devouring
48.3.294. Davis, 1949, pl. 75; Gunther, 1966, no. 162; Stewart, 1977, p. 53	Man	Devilfish	Devilfish suckers, devouring
48.3.293. Gunther, 1966, no. 161; Stewart, 1977, p. 53	Diving bird		
48.3.296. Gunther, 1966, no. 163; Stewart, 1977, p. 53	Halibut		
48.3.299. Gunther, 1966, no. 165; Stewart, 1977, p. 53	Man	Land otter, devilfish	Devilfish suckers, open mouth
48.3.695. Davis, 1949, pl. 19; Gunther, 1977, no. 168	Land otter		Segmented body
48.3.744. Gunther, 1966, no. 169	Land otter		Skeleton
48.3.796. Gunther, 1966, no. 172; Stewart, 1977, p. 53	Raven	Devilfish	Devilfish suckers, skeleton
48.3.813. Gunther, 1966, no. 173; Stewart, 1977, p. 53	Land otter		Skeleton
48.3.814. Gunther, 1966, no. 174; Stewart, 1977, p. 53	Seal		
TWO-FIGURE HOOKS			
AMNH			
16.1/1597. Ill., fig. 9	Land otter, diving bird	Devilfish	Devilfish suckers, devouring
16.1/1982	Land otter, diving bird		Devouring

APPENDIX 1: (*Continued*)

Location, references	Main image	Additional images	Iconographic motifs
E/1246	Land otter, man		Segmented body
E/1241	Raven, halibut		Skeleton
E/1252. Ill., fig. 12	Raven, halibut		
E/1254	Man, land otter		
E/1239	Sculpin, land otter	Devilfish	Devilfish suckers, devouring
19/1153	Shark, devilfish		Devilfish suckers, open mouth, segmented body
19/1158. Ill., fig. 1	Halibut, land otter		Open mouth
19/730. Ill., fig. 14	Land otter, man		Skeleton
ASM			
II B-1568	Man, raven		Skeleton
II B-1732	Wolf, land otter	Devilfish	Devilfish suckers
MAI			
21/8843	Land otter, fish	Devilfish	Devilfish suckers, segmented neck, open mouth
15/7892	Animal, animal		
1106	Diving bird, man		Open mouth, skeleton
9/8007	Land otter, land otter	Devilfish	Devilfish suckers, devouring
FM			
79742	Man, halibut		Open mouth, skeleton
79744	Wolf, diving bird	Devilfish	Devouring, devilfish suckers
MAE			
2539-2. Siebert and Foreman, 1967, pl. 72	Raven, halibut		Skeleton
PAM			
48.3.293. Davis, 1949, pl. 77; Gunther, 1966, no. 166; Stewart, 1977, p. 52	Raven, man	Man	Open mouth
48.3.694. Davis, 1949, pl. 76; Gunther, 1966, no. 167; Stewart, 1977, p. 53	Halibut, man		
48.3.745. Gunther, 1966, no. 170	Mountain goat, mountain goat	Devilfish	Devilfish suckers
TBM			
1206	Man, raven		

APPENDIX 1: (*Continued*)

Location, references	Main image	Additional images	Iconographic motifs
1269	Mountain goat, mountain goat	Devilfish	Devilfish suckers
1363	Land otter, land otter	Devilfish	Devilfish suckers
4259. Inverarity, 1950, pl. 137; Stewart, 1977, p. 52. Ill., fig. 10	Halibut, man		

## APPENDIX 2: ANIMAL IMAGES ON SECULAR ART

Location, references	Images
INTERIOR HOUSE SCREENS	
SI 233 498A–D. Collins et al., 1973, pl. 235	Bear
DAM QT1–41. Feder and Malin, 1968, pl. 1; Inverarity, 1950, pl. 12, Coe, 1977, p. 295, Haberland, 1964, p. 63	Bear
DAM PT1–3 a & b. Feder and Malin, pl. 2; Holm, 1965, fig. 1	Raven
Kluckwan Frog House. Provincial Archives neg. PN 1646	Raven
Angoon. Provincial Archives neg. PN 1649	Hawk
Kluckwan Kagwantan House. Barbeau, 1950, p. 185 (center)	Bear
Kluckwan Kagwantan House. Barbeau, 1950, p. 185 (side)	Killer whale
Kluckwan Kagwantan House. Shotridge and Shotridge, 1913, fig. 83 a	Bear
Kluckwan Kagwantan House. Shotridge and Shotridge, 1913, fig. 83 b	Killer whale
Kluckwan Killer Whale Fin House. Barbeau, 1950, p. 291, Keithahn, 1963, p. 3	Killer whale, shark, eagle, beaver
Kluckwan Whale House. Emmons, 1916, pl. 2, Keithahn, 1963, p. 132, Holm, 1965, fig. 67	Raven (Jonaitis, 1977, p. 37) or gonakadete (Keithahn, 1963, p. 133)
Yakutat Drum House. Keithahn, 1963, p. 133, de Laguna, 1972, pl. 92	Golden eagle, ground hog
Yakutat Thunderbird House. Keithahn, 1963, p. 134, de Laguna, 1972, pl. 91	Thunderbird, wolf
Yakutat Moon House. de Laguna, 1972, p. 323	Raven
Yakutat Wolf Bath House. de Laguna, 1972, pl. 85	Beaver, wolves
Yakutat Golden Eagle House. de Laguna, 1972, pl. 93	Golden eagle
INTERIOR HOUSE POSTS	
Cape Fox. TBM. Barbeau, 1950, p. 190	Bear
Keithahn, 1963, p. 214	Bear



APPENDIX 2: (*Continued*)

Location, references	Images
Kluckwan Raven House. Barbeau, 1950, p. 359, Krause, 1956, p. 91	Raven
Wrangell, Chief Shakes' House. Barbeau, 1950, p. 610, Keithahn, 1963, p. 95	Devilfish, shark, killer whale
Wrangel, Chief Shakes' House. Provincial Archives neg. number PN 1655	Fish
Wrangel, Chief Shakes' House. Provincial Archives neg. number PN 1620	Bear
Kluckwan Frog House. Provincial Archives neg. number PN 1646	Frog
Swanton, 1908a, p. 421, Barbeau, 1950, p. 633	Wolf
Barbeau, 1950, p. 633, Keithahn, 1963, p. 57	Eagle, beaver
ASM II B-110	Wolf
Kluckwan Kagwantan. Shotridge and Shotridge, 1913, fig. 83 c	Bear
Kluckwan Kagwantan. Shotridge and Shotridge, 1913, fig. 83 d	Bear
Kluckwan Kagwantan. Shotridge and Shotridge, 1913, fig. 83 e	Wolf
Kanagunut Island. Garfield and Forest, 1948, pp. 3–4, Keithahn, 1963, p. 116	Wolf
Basket Bay. Garfield and Forest, 1948, p. 5, Keithahn, 1963, p. 153	Beaver
Kluckwan Whale House. Emmons, 1916, pl. 3, Keithahn, 1963, p. 70	Sea lion
Kluckwan Whale House. Emmons, 1916, pl. 3, Keithahn, 1963, p. 70	Raven, gonakadete
Kluckwan Whale House. Emmons, 1916, pl. 4, Keithahn, 1963, p. 151	Raven, salmon
Kluckwan Whale House. Emmons, 1916, pl. 4, Keithahn, 1963, p. 151	Woodworm, raven, frog
Yakutat Shark House. de Laguna, 1972, pl. 86–87, Keithahn, 1963, p. 32	Shark, bear, eagle
Yakutat Moon House. de Laguna, 1972, pl. 88, Collins et al., 1973, pl. 233	Wolf(?)
Yakutat Shark House. de Laguna, 1972, pl. 89, Keithahn, 1963, p. 6	Bear
PAM 48.3.529 A–D. Collins et al., 1973, pl. 234, Davis, 1949, pl. 106	Killer whale
UM 31-29-13. Dockstader, 1966, pl. 103	Bear
CREST HATS	
UM	
NA 5740. Collins et al., 1973, pl. 258	Raven
NA 6864	Animal
NA 8502. Shotridge, 1919, pl. 1, Collins et al., 1973, pl. 259	Raven
NA 8503. Shotridge, 1919, pl. 3, Collins et al., 1973, pl. 256	Killer whale
NA 10511. Shotridge, 1928, p. 366	Raven
NA 10512. Shotridge, 1928, p. 365, Collins et al., 1973, pl. 255	Raven
NA 11741. Shotridge, 1928, p. 375, Dockstader, 1966, pl. 112	Killer whale
NA 11743. Coe, 1977, pl. 359	Killer whale
NA 11740. Shotridge, 1928, p. 369, Maurer, 1977, pl. 482	Frog
NA 11742. Shotridge, 1928, p. 371, Maurer, 1977, pl. 483	Eagle

APPENDIX 2: (*Continued*)

Location, references	Images
<b>PAM</b>	
48.3.416. Gunther, 1966, no. 198, de Laguna, 1972, pl. 158	Frog, turtle(?)
48.3.418. Gunther, 1966, no. 200	Raven
48.3.419. Gunther, 1966, no. 201, Davis, 1949, no. 72	Shark
48.3.725. Gunther, 1966, no. 202	Beaver or gonakadete
48.3.596a. Gunther, 1966, no. 204	Raven
48.3.597. Gunther, 1966, no. 205, de Laguna, 1972, pl. 145	Killer whale
48.3.598. Gunther, 1966, no. 206, de Laguna, 1972, pl. 155	Killer whale
48.3.599. Gunther, 1966, no. 207	Killer whale
<b>TBM</b>	
1-1436	Killer whale
1372	Beaver
2436	Shark
2313. Inverarity, 1950, pl. 80	Killer whale
<b>ASM</b>	
IIB-921. de Laguna, 1972, pl. 158	Eagle
<b>PU</b>	
5178. de Laguna, 1972, pl. 155	Killer whale
5179. de Laguna, 1972, pl. 154	Killer whale
<b>MAI</b>	
16/8288	Sea lion
Tongass Historical Society FWSR 10.13.67. Collins et al., 1973, pl. 257	Eagle
<b>DAM</b>	
QT1-3. Feder and Malin, 1968, pl. 45	Beaver
<b>MAE</b>	
620-19. Siebert and Foreman, 1966, pls. 89-90	Killer whale
<b>FM</b>	
79290	Shark, frog
97224	Sea lion
<b>AMNH</b>	
E/1380	Killer whale
E/1929	Cormorant
<b>SI</b>	
11373	Eagle

APPENDIX 2: (*Continued*)

Location, references	Images
HELMETS (ANTHROPOMORPHIC HELMETS OMITTED)	
MAE	
2452-11. Siebert and Foreman, 1966, pls. 43-44	Bear
571-18. Siebert and Foreman, 1966, pl. 49	Wolf
5795-10. Siebert and Foreman, 1966, pl. 51, Collins et al., 1973, pl. 318	Bear
2454-16. Siebert and Foreman, 1966, pl. 50	Seal
MAI	
3/6658	Killer whale
9/8020	Killer whale
UM	
NA 37945. Collins et al., 1973, pl. 260	Raven, frog
29-1-1. Shotridge, 1929	Shark
NA 10832	Hawk
TBM	
2425	Killer whale
PAM	
48.3.415. Davis, 1949, pl. 22, Gunther, 1966, no. 256, Collins et al., 1973, pl. 261	Wolf



## APPENDIX 3: IMAGES ON SHAMANS' CHARMS

Location, references	Images	Location, references	Images
AMNH		14317	Land otter, man
19/450. Wardwell, 1978, pl. 64	Man, animal	78790	Killer whale, raven, man, wolf, cormorant
19/211	Man (shaman)		
E/973	Land otter	78791	Devilfish, bear, frog
19/462	Devilfish, land otter, man (witch)	78870	Land otter, eagle, devilfish
E/1666. de Laguna, 1972, pl. 195	Raven	TBM	
19/209	Man, devilfish	1927	Shark, salmon
E/2713	Man	1522. Inverarity, 1950, pl. 161	Killer whale
E/2711. Wardwell, 1978, pl. 66	Man, land otter, devilfish	1517	Man (shaman)
19/461	Bear, land otter, man, fish	1518	Man (shaman)
E/1952	Bear	1928	Land otter
E/2584	Man (shaman), bird	2412	Land otter
E/2708. de Laguna, 1972, pl. 183, Wardwell, 1978, pl. 67	Land otter, diving bird, raven, devilfish, bear, man	1/2190	Raven, man, land otter
E/843	Diving bird, man	2411	Land otter
E/2627	Land otter, man	1926	Devilfish
E/635	Land otter, man, devilfish	1870	Sculpin, devilfish
19/465	Killer whale, man	1720	Wolf
E/2005	Man	1/2191	Raven, man, land otter
E/1415	Killer whale	1/2192	Land otter, man, devilfish, hawk
19/453	Raven, man	1025	Man, land otter
Neg. 29556	Raven, man, devilfish	2418	Wolf, sea lion
E/975	Halibut, man	904	Bear, devilfish, eagle
FM		1925	Raven
78793	Raven, killer whale	926	Land otter
14316	Fish, land otter, man	1027	Halibut, man, land otter
78870	Land otter, eagle, wolf	1316	Halibut
79359	Fish, man	928	Land otter, man
78236. Johnson, 1973, pl. 8	Land otter, devilfish, man	1923	Shark, raven, man
78792	Diving bird, man, land otter, fish	PAM	
		48.3.48. Gunther, 1966, no. 346, Davis, 1949, no. 116	Land otter
		48.3.49. Gunther, 1966, no. 347	Raven

APPENDIX 3: (*Continued*)

Location, references	Images	Location, references	Images
48.3.111. Gunther, 1966, no. 353	Man	2/609	Fish
48.3.112. Gunther, 1966, no. 354	Land otter	1/2154. Dockstader, 1966, pl. 120	Diving bird, bear, man
48.3.113. Gunther, 1966, no. 355	Devilfish	4/1669. Dockstader, 1966, pl. 120	Raven, man
48.3.107. Gunther, 1966, no. 349, Davis, 1949, no. 111	Diving bird, land otter, bear	11/349	Land otter, man
48.3.108. Gunther, 1966, No. 350, Davis, 1949, No. 114	Land otter	9/7952. de Laguna, 1972, pl. 183	Sea monster, bear, land otter, man
48.3.116. Gunther, 1966, no. 357, Davis, 1949, no. 15	Killer whale	9/7950	Land otter, man
48.3.115. Gunther, 1966, no. 356	Crab	PMH	
48.3.110. Gunther, 1966, no. 352, Davis, 1949, no. 112	Land otter, devilfish	69-30-10/1792	Halibut, devilfish
UM		69-30-10/1831	Man
NA 1298	Animal	31-63-10K80	Man
15320	Killer whale, man, diving bird, devilfish	69-30-10/2838	Woodworm
41-31-13a	Land otter, man	69-30-10/1958	Raven, man, diving bird
41-31-13b	Land otter	69-30-10/1915	Raven, land otter, devilfish, man
NA 3369	Man, killer whale, devilfish	69-30-10/1951	Killer whale, man
NA 4263	Man, animal	30-11-10/A6977	Fish, man
MAI		69-30-10/1908	Man, land otter, devilfish
9/7950b	Sea monster, man	ASM	
9/7951	Man, sea bear, raven	II B-1191	Animal
1/2153	Eagle	II B-804	Raven, killer whale
11/8021	Land otter, raven	II B-843B	Land otter
1301	Devilfish, man, land otter	II B-1189	Eagle, devilfish
9/7943	Bear, land otter, frog	SJM	Land otter, devilfish
		SI	
		233488	Land otter, man
		7938	Land otter, man, raven
		9819	Animal
		43249	Land otter, devilfish

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